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AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

510 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RHINELANDER 4-2816 • ELDORADO 5-5633

April 19, 1957

Dear Mr. Dulles:

We are writing to ask your support for the work of the American Friends of the Captive Nations, in which we have been interested ever since its formation last spring. Its work in publicizing the plight of Eastern Europe and in promoting plans for the liberation of that vital area is especially timely and urgent at this moment.

The end of active Hungarian resistance and Soviet success in sealing the Austrian border to refugees has brought a blackout of news from Hungary. A similar blackout of protest and debate prevails in the U.N. and Washington. Meanwhile, the Soviets are executing Hungarian freedom leaders and completing the return to Stalinism without a word of protest from abroad. If, after all they did, we allow the Hungarian people to feel that the free world is not only impotent to help them but ready to forget them, Soviet power will be strengthened not only in Hungary, where it was so badly shaken, but throughout the captive nations. If the return to Stalinism succeeds in Hungary, the Kremlin may feel strong enough to snuff out the beginnings of freedom in Poland.

Because of this, it is vital for private citizens, organizations

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FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1957

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

Sanctions on Russia To Be Asked in U. N.

Imposition of sanctions against the Soviet Union until its troops are withdrawn from Hungary will be asked today of the United States and the United Nations by the American Friends of the Captive Nations, an organization formed about a year ago to collect and distribute information concerning countries that have come under Communist rule.

In a statement issued from its headquarters, 510 Madison Ave., the organization charged that the Soviet Union "has overthrown the legal government of Hungary, kidnaped the Prime Minister, set up a puppet regime and maintained this regime in power by mass arrests, mass deportations and mass executions, in defiance of ten U. N. resolutions." It said that these resolutions have been contemptu-

The statement was timed to coincide with Hungarian Freedom Day. Today is the 109th anniversary of the revolution against the Hapsburg rule of that country.

American Friends of the Captive Nations is also backing a proposal to set up a select committee in the House of Representatives to "study Soviet aggression in Hungary" and apply the information thus obtained to American foreign policy. It insisted, in the statement of its position, that the application of sanctions against Russia would not increase the danger of a third world war.

Christopher Emmet, writer and commentator on foreign affairs, is chairman of the organization. Its treasurer is Raphael Malsin, president of the New York

THE NEW YORK TIMES

SANCTIONS MOVE URGED

Eisenhower Asked to Press
for Action Against Soviet

Twelve members of Congress of the Democratic and Republican parties, together with fifty other citizens, subscribed to an appeal today to President Eisenhower to propose sanctions in the United Nations against the Soviet Union for its intervention in Hungary.

The appeal was made by the American Friends of the Captive Nations on the anniversary of Hungary's 1848 revolution against the Habsburgs of Austria. It said that "Soviet armies remain in Hungary and U. N. resolutions passed four months ago are still contemptuously ignored."

The United Nations "dealt sternly with Israel," the appeal continued. "Contrast this offense with Soviet armed intervention in Hungary."

Senators Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, and Karl Mundt, Republican of South

Reprint of paid advertisement which appeared on March 15, 1957 in the New York Herald Tribune and the Washington News.

TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

on the anniversary of Hungarian Independence

Today the Hungarian people celebrate their national holiday commemorating the revolution led by their hero, Kossuth, against the Hapsburg armies. Last October 23rd, they rose once again to overthrow an even greater tyranny.

For nearly three months the Hungarian people fought and died for their freedom against the most powerful army on earth. Their guns are now silent, but the glory and the tragedy of the Hungarian revolution lives on. Soviet hangmen, Soviet firing squads and the torture chambers of the secret police are busy at this moment taking revenge on the men and women whose courage exposed the wickedness and the ultimate weakness of Communism, as never before in forty years of Soviet history.

By their sacrifice the Hungarian people have given the lie to the Communist myth throughout the world and shaken the Soviet empire to its foundations. Authenticated reports of student riots and workers' unrest have come all the way from East Germany to North Vietnam, including incidents within the Soviet Union itself. Poland is freer today than any country in Communist history. *This freedom movement offers the greatest chance for permanent peace, if hope can be kept alive among the captive peoples.*

While the Hungarian people could still reach us through their messages, their refugees and their radios, they sent desperate appeals for help to the United States and to the United Nations—appeals which still remain unanswered.

How has the free world measured up to the tremendous challenge and the tremendous opportunity they gave us? We have expressed sympathy. We have given money for relief, and we have brought thousands of Hungarian refugees to this country.

But what have we done for the people who remained to fight for their freedom in Hungary?

What effective political action have we undertaken to encourage freedom in Hungary and throughout the Soviet empire?

What have we done to establish the United Nations as an effective instrument for insuring world peace on both sides of the Iron Curtain, not just on our side?

While the Hungarian people could still fight they fought, with their lives, space and time in the press and radios of the world. They forced the U. N. to talk about Hungary and to pass resolutions, however inadequate. But when the Hungarians could no longer make those headlines, when the frontiers were finally closed to refugees, and the blanket of silence was clamped down again by the weight of 20 Soviet divisions, a similar silence about Hungary prevailed in the United Nations. The United States Delegation has shared in that silence.

DOUBLE STANDARD ON ISRAEL AND THE SOVIET UNION

Meanwhile the U. N. dealt sternly with Israel, threatening drastic sanctions because Israel delayed the evacuation of a few square miles of desert in the Gaza strip and the Gulf of Aqaba.

Contrast this offense with Soviet armed intervention in Hungary, which has overthrown the legal government, kidnapped the Prime Minister, set up a puppet regime and maintained this regime in power by mass arrests, mass deportations and mass executions—carried out under the guns of Soviet tanks and in defiance of no less than ten resolutions of the U. N. General Assembly. Whatever we think of Israel's action, to compare its brief invasion of the Sinai desert with Soviet Russia's enslavement and torture of a whole people is like equating measles with leprosy—equating assault under provocation with unprovoked mass murder.

Now Israel, France and Britain have all complied with the resolutions of the General Assembly. The danger of war has receded and whatever claim the Suez crises ever had for priority is ended. *But Soviet armies remain in Hungary and U. N. resolutions passed four months ago are still contemptuously ignored. The U. N. must act on Hungary now or be dishonored.*

What power the United Nations has is a moral power which must appeal to the conscience and sense of justice of the member nations for its implementation. As the President said on February 20th, "Peace and justice are two sides of the same coin." The U. N. may survive a failure to enforce justice against the defiance of great states, but cannot survive failure to press for equal justice for all its members. Above all, it cannot survive if it imposes one law for the strong and one for the weak.

The integrity and influence of the United Nations can only be preserved either by imposing sanctions on all aggressors who defy U. N. resolutions, or none, and by imposing sanctions first on the nation guilty of the greatest violation of the U. N. Charter and Assembly resolutions—the Soviet Union.

On February 20th, the President excused the failure of the United Nations even to propose sanctions against Soviet Russia on the ground that Russia, "by reason of its size and power and by reason of its veto in the U. N. Security Council, is relatively impervious to other types of sanctions."

But Soviet aggression against Hungary has been immensely costly in terms of Soviet influence, Soviet discipline and Communist unity throughout the world. Economic pressures played a vital part in the Hungarian and Polish revolts and in the discontent which has shaken the Soviet empire and leadership. More consumers goods must be produced to meet the unrest. The Soviet Government

must also make immense efforts to fulfill its plans to arm and industrialize China, and to subvert the Arab world. The difficulty of all these tasks would be greatly increased by the imposition of U. N. economic sanctions.

Dare we rest content only with aiding refugees and sending a trickle of relief to Hungary? In Korea, rightly or wrongly, we forfeited victory and granted the Communists their privileged sanctuary lest we increase the danger of global war. But in Hungary, fear of the risk of war has been carried to far greater extremes. Apparently we dare not even propose the mildest economic and diplomatic sanctions provided by the U. N. Charter, lest we provoke the Soviets. Paradoxically, at the very moment that United States foreign policy is based on the U. N. as never before, *our lack of political leadership to save Hungary is leading the U. N. toward the fate of the League of Nations.* If continued, this weakness will destroy faith both in the United States and the United Nations and thus lead to the ultimate conflict we are seeking to avoid.

Therefore, for the honor of the United States and the future of the United Nations, we urge that our delegation propose sanctions against the Soviet Union now.

POLITICAL AID FOR HUNGARY LESSENS THE DANGER OF WAR

No one wants war, but frequently timidity is more dangerous than resolution. *No great power can conduct an effective foreign policy without risks—risks such as we faced in rescuing Greece from communist invasion in 1947, in breaking the Berlin blockade in 1948, in defending Korea in 1950.*

This is the most unfavorable moment the Soviets could select to go to war. For the Soviet rulers now know that the sixty satellite army divisions are utterly unreliable; the Hungarian army taught them that. The Communist leaders face widespread and deep-seated discontent, defection and desertion of the satellite armies and even of Soviet troops themselves, strikes, sabotage, passive resistance, and a dire threat to their communications in case of war.

If we back this great movement by all the economic, diplomatic, moral and propaganda pressure at our command, the Soviets may be induced to withdraw from Eastern Europe in their own interest. The cost of permanent military repression of so vast an area would be prohibitive. *But if by word or deed or paralyzed inaction we help to discourage the resistance in the captive nations, we help by just that much to strengthen and stabilize the Soviet position. We will be helping them to face us with greater power and resolution, at a time of their own choosing.*

As for a Soviet atomic attack, why should we assume that the Soviets have any less to fear from nuclear warfare than we do? Why should they challenge us with the one weapon with which we are best prepared?

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

If you agree that a stronger position should be taken, will you support an appeal to the President to take action along the following suggested lines?

1. To move immediately in the U. N. to suspend the credentials of the Hungarian puppet regime's representatives in the U. N. General Assembly.
2. To propose political, economic and diplomatic sanctions by U. N. members against the Soviet Union and the Kadar regime—unless Soviet forces are immediately withdrawn from Hungary, in compliance with the directives of the General Assembly.
3. To apply U. S. diplomatic and economic sanctions against the Hungarian puppet regime.
4. To officially record all the pertinent facts of the Hungarian revolution including aggression by the Red Army, through the creation by Congress of a select committee, as proposed in House Resolution No. 69, introduced on January 4, 1957.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

A. Send us your names and addresses—and your dollars—so that we may continue and expand the campaign of public education for **POLITICAL ACTION TO AID THE PEOPLE OF HUNGARY.**

B. Write to the President and to your elected officials in Washington, supporting the above program.

C. Take your stand for freedom by signing the following personal pledge:

THE HUNGARY PLEDGE

The Soviet regime having by the Hungarian massacre demonstrated once again its isolation from the moral community, I pledge that until all Soviet troops and police are withdrawn from Hungary, I will adhere to no economic, social, political or cultural relations with that regime, or any of its domestic firms or not as representatives of the regime, or with any persons or institutions freely condoning the Hungarian massacre, except for the sole purpose of persuading such individuals to defect.

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510 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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American Friends of the Captive Nations

510 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Eldorado 5-5633

RHinelander 4-2816

☐ I wish to support the four point program of the American Friends of the Captive Nations as outlined above.

☐ I wish to join with other Americans in signing the Hungary Pledge.

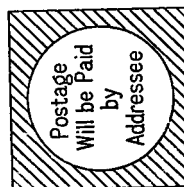
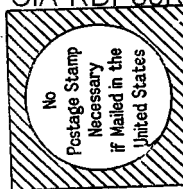
☐ I enclose \$..... to do my part in helping to carry on the work of the American Friends of the Captive Nations.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

Please make checks payable to the American Friends of Captive Nations.



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First Class Permit No. 12549, New York, N. Y.

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS
510 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.



THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS
510 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

I wish to join with other Americans throughout the nation,
In supporting the mobilization of public opinion FOR POLITICAL AID
TO HUNGARY, by contributing

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$1000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$10 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$500 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$5 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$250 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$25 | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |

Name.....
Address.....
City.....Zone.....State.....

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Dulles

 says this is a "fly by night" group organized by Christopher Emmet - highly critical of the Government's actions on Hungary, Poland, etc.  recommends you avoid any association - contribution or otherwise. Norman Paul agrees.

This form letter requires no acknowledgement,
of course